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7/17/94  
(USC - Kinshasa)

Rev  
PR 2-45

RELEASED IN PART

Possible Measures

B1, 1.5(D)

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- Encourage the formation of a four-party regional mediation body, consisting of Hutus/Tutsis from Burundi, President Museveni from Uganda, President Mwinyi from Tanzania and Mobutu/Kengo from Zaire, perhaps under OAU or UN auspices. Mwinyi would be the most neutral of choices to head the body. The inclusion of Zairians and Burundi Hutus will reassure Hutus; the inclusion of Museveni and Burundi Tutsis will reassure RPF.

B1

- Send a clear message to refugees in Zaire of safety and security if they repatriate. We can assist a new Rwandan government to establish a radio transmitter to broadcast messages of reassurance in local languages, print and distribute fliers, etc. The RPF has requested this assistance. We should focus attention of "lay leaders" among the refugees (e.g., former village leaders).
- Focus retribution on the leaders of the genocide, perhaps including the 500 leaders identified by the RPF as ringleaders. An effective international effort centered on these criminals will reassure the RPF that we are taking their concerns seriously, isolate these individuals from the rest of the Hutu community and send a message to the Hutus that the focus is on bringing these criminals to justice, not exacting indiscriminate revenge on Hutu peasants.
- Redouble efforts to deploy full UNAMIR force. UNAMIR should focus its attention on providing security in Western regions, with the existing UNAMIR force of about 1000 redeploying toward border with Zaire. If UNAMIR assumes positions now occupied by the RPF, they can set up de facto safety zones covering villages to which Hutus will return.
- Work with donors, including World Bank, to launch reconstruction programs for Rwanda, promising a better life for those who return.
- Urge the government of Zaire to disarm and disband military forces of the rump government in Goma and other border sites. These forces continue to represent a threat to any new government in Rwanda, a potential rabble-rousing influence among the refugees and a real source of instability.

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- Urge the new broad-based government in Rwanda to name moderate Hutus as regional governors in Western Rwanda. This would create an impression of regional power-sharing. If prominent Hutus can be identified in whom the local community has confidence, this would encourage refugees to return to these areas.
- Arrange high-level foreign visits to the region by US government officials (such as A/S Moose, Ambassador Carson, Ambassador Rawson), a US Special Presidential Envoy (e.g., Don McHenry) or an international team of senior officials sanctioned by OAU and/or UN.
- Eliminate Radio Milles Collines once and for all. This station continues to broadcast messages of discord, telling Hutus to flee the country and regroup in Zaire, as well as urging Hutus in Burundi to rise up against the Tutsi military there. The radio is apparently in the French security zone -- we need to have the French to take action or do it ourselves.

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